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motives of piety and supplication, to the saints' eponymic churches. Within the environs of Gondar, for example, there are forty-two churches, and perhaps half are of sufficient antiquity and fame to mark them for special visits on the saints' days. Each of the market towns contains at least one famous church. The larger towns are, moreover, the seats of their sub-provinces, and are the objects of visits by peasants on "government" (mongist) business. Most frequently, this means
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litigation involving the disposition of land rights.

361 Two Rural Hamlets. Tikurmidir and Lemmariet are neighboring hamlets, situated on fertile dega lands. Together they occupy the southwest quadrant of Kidus Yowhannis parish (hamlet and parish names are pseudonyms), a three hour walk from the awraja seat, Dabat town, in the Woggera region. Of the two, Tikurmidir is larger:

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	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Total population	151	95
Total households	36	24

In both hamlets, a majority of households are headed by
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risteñas. These households are distributed among the hamlets' ambilineages as follows:

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Ambilineage I	18	10
Ambilineage II	6	1

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	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Ambilineage III	4	
Ambilineage IV	3	
Ambilineage V		5
Ambilineage VI		3
Ambilineage VII		2
Total risteñas households	31	21

[423] In each of the hamlets, there are two households be-
[192] longing to Amhara tenant farmers (timeneña), individuals unable to claim membership in any local ambilineage. These tenants, who provide their own seed and draught animals, return a quarter of their crops to the risteñas
[779] whose fields they use. There in Tikurmidir two addition-
[433] al timeneña households, whose members are Muslims. These
[286] households are headed by brothers who supplement their
[192] agricultural activities by weaving the šama (toga) for local Christians.

793 Primary rights to a third of a parish's fields are
361 believed to reside with the parish church. Ideally, the
423 use of such fields, known as yikeys mariet ("priest's
795 land"), is given to local priests in return for parti-
[192] cipating in the Masses of the parish church. Ideally,
[613] rist-holding ambilineages become associated with specific tracts of yikeys mariet by providing such priests over generations. Occasionally, ambilineage

members are unable to retain their claims to these church lands (which are intimately linked to the acquisition of leadership positions and prestige within the parish) by providing priests from their own ranks. Consequently, substitutes from outside the parish must be obtained. Such is the case with ambilineage I today. According to current allocation of yikeys mariet in Tikurmidir and Lemmariet, ambilineages I and V are each expected to provide three priests for the Mass. Ambilineage V currently provides its three from three ambilineage households of Lemmariet. Ambilineage I, however, currently provides only one risteña priest (a resident of Tikurmidir). Thus, members of ambilineage I using these fields have been obliged to invite two non-risteña priests to take up residence on a portion of these lands, in return for participation in the Mass.

Finally, these hamlets contain three female servants, unrelated to other residents of the parish. In Tikurmidir, there is a single Amhara attached to a household of ambilineage I; in Lemmariet there is a "bariya" in a household of ambilineage I, and another in a household of ambilineage V.

Herbalist Medicine in Tikurmidir and Lemmariet. The herbalist therapies of these two hamlets are described in Table 7. With the use of this information, the following paragraphs will indicate that the professional

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therapies practiced in Tikurmidir and Lemmariet (like those of Begemder Amhara hamlets in general) are fairly evenly distributed among resident ambilineages and households. A significant consequence of this distribution is a general understanding by all residents of the pharmacological, therapeutic, and diagnostic notions of Amhara medicine, and the inhibition of separate professional and lay cultures, at least with regards to secular therapies. A second consequence is that the differential healing powers of herbalists are perceived in clients and herbalists in specific, symptomatically bound contexts, divorced from notions of diffuse and widely relevant healing powers.

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A majority of the herbalists of Tikurmidir and Lemmariet practice a single professional therapy:

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Total therapies:	26	20
Total herbalists:	20	16

No herbalist of these hamlets practices more than two professional therapies, thus there are ten herbalists practicing multiple therapies. The combinations of therapies practiced in these hamlets are as follows:

In Tikurmidir:

(Aynitila:Seci:k:T) and (Yibuda Bäyta:Seci:k:T+)

(Aynitila:Seci:k:I) and (Demikitir:Ateci:k:I)

(Nikersa:Kitabiy:A:I+) and (Kuntina:Kabiy:k*:I+)

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1A)

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

TABLE 7

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A ROSTER OF SECULAR HERBALISTS OF TWO RURAL HAMLETS OF BEGEMDER

1. Explanation of the notations used:

Therapeutic notations:
- Seci: Medhaniyt Seci (provider of unprocessed medicaments)
- Ateci: Medhaniyt Ateci (provider of processed medicaments)
- Kabiy: Medhaniyt Kabiy (painter of processed medicaments)
- Kitabiy: Kitab Kitabiy (amulet maker)

Pharmacological notations:
- i: Ise Korac ("stalk cutter")
- s: Sir Korac ("root digger")
- k: Yi_Medhaniyt Korac ("medicine cutter for the_ailment")

Grade notations:
- A: Medhaniyt Awakiy ("medicine expert")
- *: Herbalist claims Medhaniyt Awakiy title, but is professionally unknown beyond the parish

Ambilineage notations:
- I to IV: ambilineage designation
- T: Amhara tenant farmer

Client notation:
- +: Clients are attracted from beyond the herbalist's own hamlet and immediate environs

For example, the notation "Seci/Ateci:k:I" signifies an herbalist who offers a therapy as either a Medhaniyt Seci or Medhaniyt Ateci, who is also known as a Medhaniyt Korac by virtue of the complex of ingredients used in his therapy, and who is a member of ambilineage I.

TABLE 7 CONTINUED

*278 2. The roster:
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Disease-Name Specialty	Grade and Ambilineage of Herbalist	
	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Aynitila (chronic anxiety affecting ability to engage in ordinary social intercourse)	Seci:k:II+ Seci:k:T	Ateci:k°:II
Demiketir (profuse external bleeding)	Seci/Ateci:k:I	
Ibac (running sore, particularly on lower leg)	Seci/Kabiy:i:I	
Ikek (scabies)	Kabiy:k°:I Kabiy:k°:II	Kabiy:k°:I Kabiy:k°:I
Hod Himem (stomach ailment marked by local pain)	Ateci:i:I	Seci:i:I
Kosow (tapeworm)	Ateci:i:II Ateci:k°:I	
Koruba (small pox)	Seci/Ateci:i:I+ Seci/Ateci:i:I	Seci:i:I+ Seci:i:I
Kuntina (leprosy)	Kabiy:k°:I+	
Kurtimat (rheumatoid complaints)	Kabiy:k°:II	Kabiy:k°:V

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TABLE 7 Continued

Disease-Name Specialty	Grade and Ambilineage of Herbalist	
	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Kusil (infected cut)	Kabiy:k°:II+ Kabiy:k°:III+	
Mers (poison)	Ateci:k°:IV+	
Nic (bothersome skin inflammations and rashes)	Seci/Kabiy:i:I+	Seci:i:I
Nikersa (septicemia with a prodromal carbuncle)	Kitabiy:A:I+	
Ras Mitat (headache caused by gerifta)	Seci:s:I	Ateci:s:VI
Wosfat (wosfat biting stomach wall and adjacent organs)	Ateci:s:I Ateci:k°:I	Seci:s:II Ateci:i:III Ateci:i:III Ateci:k°:II
Wuwgat (localized body pain)	Ateci:s:T	
Yibuda Basiyta (buda possession)	Seci:k:T+	Ateci:k:IV
Yibt Wuwsa Basiyta (rabies)	Ateci/Kabiy:i:III[15] Ateci:k°:I	Ateci:k°:I

[15]This therapy also used for snakebite.

TABLE 7 CONTINUED

	Disease-Name Specialty	Grade and Ambilineage of Herbalist	
		Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
*718 *753 *766 *759 *613	Yilfiyn Basiyta (swollen and painful extremeties following a prodromal cut; often pregangrenous)	Kabiy:k*:I	Seci/Kabiy:i:V
	Yisaal Basiyta (sustained and severe coughing)	Ateci:k*:II+	Ateci:k*:II Ateci:k*:II Ateci:k*:II

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holds (73% of the total) are without kinship ties to any other of the ward's households. Although many of these residents have kinsmen in other parts of Gondar, few have more than one or two relatives in the town. In addition, because most townfolk rely upon non-agricultural employment for their subsistence needs, there is a concomitant disinterest in ambilineage fields. A consequence is a weakening of the important economic bonds which otherwise link kinsmen to one another.

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Kinship ties are an important means by which the peasant acquires and communicates information necessary for constructing herbalist chains. Since almost every herbalist therapy of the rural parish enjoys its own "pedigree", or trans-generational reputation, the peasant herbalist is provided with means for 1) publicly validating his therapeutic claims, and 2) communicating the existence of the therapy to his potential clients. Potential clients frequently associate the ownership of a famous herbalist therapy with the members of a specific ambilineage, often identifiable by name. Both the ambilineage (whose identity is linked to its fields) and its medical reputation (which is tied to the ambilineage) are attached to a particular location. Since residence is most often viripatrilocal, the transmission of such therapeutic reputations is characterized by an agnatic bias. The male therapist moving to town, like

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